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- ART. II. — 1. *A Discourse on the Life, Character, and Policy of Count Cavour, delivered in the Hall of the New York Historical Society, February 20, 1862.* By VINCENZO BOTTA, Ph. D. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1862.
2. *Count Cavour, his Life and Career.* By BASIL H. COOPER, B. A. London. 1860.
3. *Camillo Benso di Cavour.* Per ROGGERO BOUGHI. Torino. 1861.

WHEN a nation assumes, for the first time in its history, the rank of an independent and superior power, civilized man regards the event with sympathy. With how much greater gratification do we behold the regeneration of a people which in former ages discovered a conspicuous superiority, but which, by the process of despotism and consequent apathy, has been for centuries an object of universal pity, and whose latter degradation has seemed the more hopeless as contrasted with its former grandeur! While the revolutions of modern Europe have transferred the ascendancy from nation to nation, and have alternately elevated and depressed almost every country between the Atlantic and the Caucasus, Italy alone, the ancient seat of world-wide empire, has remained listless and stagnant under the oppression of the hierarchy, the Bourbons, and the Hapsburgs. The Reformation, prolific in the grand results of a purer religion and a more vigorous enlightenment, swept by the land of the Cæsars, and left the unhappy descendants of the greatest of races stranded in the cruel and superstitious ignorance of the dark ages. While England, France, Spain, and the German States—dependent provinces which received viceroys from and paid an humble tribute to the early Emperors—have successively assumed the highest elevation of power among the nations, their once queenly mistress has been overridden by a crafty priesthood, and has been retained in slavish submission by a foreign and mercenary armament. Divided into numerous states and municipalities, each independent of and most of them hostile to the others,—distracted by the bitter strifes of factions, rivalling one another in the same overwhelming passion,—

held all the while in debasing thralldom by the fulminations of ambitious and licentious pontiffs, — degenerated, by a fatal luxury, from the iron spirit which had dictated laws alike in the rude valley of the Tweed and among the splendid temples of Persia, — a people motiveless and hopeless, and, by the absorption of the Church, bereft of the little genius which might otherwise have illumined its history, — how sad is the contemplation of the desolate centuries which have passed over the fairest regions and most memorable spots of the earth ! It has been the felicity of the present generation to witness the awakening of Italy to the dawn of a glorious destiny. The spirit which has either slumbered or vented itself in helpless and insane ravings has shaken off its lethargy, and tyranny may well tremble, when it beholds the regeneration of a people before deemed most secure in its grasp. A rapid concentration of states and of policy, — the creation, by the house of Savoy, of a constitutional government, — the revolutionary successes of Garibaldi, — the wisdom and moderation of the sovereign designated from the first, by nature and position, to preside over the birth of the new nation, — and, as we conceive, beyond all, the gigantic efforts of Count Cavour, — have resulted in placing once more the land of Cæsar and of Machiavel among the great powers of the earth. For a century and a half, five nations have arrogated to themselves the splendid joint title of the “Great Powers.” Of these, four comprise communities once held in vassalage by the magistrates of Rome. The former mistress now takes her place among her former vassals as their equal, and hereafter *six* Great Powers will unite with and oppose one another to preserve the balance of European dominion.

The cause of the regeneration of Italy is easily discovered. Attempts have been made in the past to break loose from the bondage of the papacy and the empire ; but they were without method, — looking not to the end, but impelled by sudden frenzy, — rather a wild thirst for any change than a wise endeavor for a better state, — unorganized, and undisciplined by principle or system, led by ignorant and reckless men, who would have been kings of bandits, but whose statesmanship would have been a worse tyranny than that of the worst pontiffs,

— and without unity of design, of interest, or even of cause. Such passionate and aimless rebellions could not be expected to succeed against military armaments, possessed of the advantages of discipline and experience, and stationed at every point of the insurgent territory. Even modern times have witnessed the wild fanaticism of Mazzini, who, in attempting to re-enact in Italy the inglorious fratricides exemplified by France, retarded for a time the formation of a constitutional monarchy, the nucleus of an independent empire. The essential want of Italy was a calm, great master-mind. Her sons, even the greatest of them, have been too mercurial and fickle, too much under the dominion of their passions, too much devoted to luxury, or to their particular pursuits, to engage in successful revolution. They wanted the iron will, the dauntless spirit, the discerning forethought, the steady intellect, of more northern climes; first to overturn existing despotism, then to erect a substantial and healthy fabric. Passion might have full play in the destruction of papal and imperial authority; but it must yield to nobler elements when eradication is to be followed by creation. To destroy, requires only the brave heart and the strong arm; to erect, demands souls lit up, not only with patriotism, but with an intelligence undimmed by grosser elements.

The intellectual activity of the last century, crude and irregular as it was on the Continent, was the germ which culminated in the French Revolution, and which has set all the communities of Europe in pursuit of liberty. Before this period, the monarch, everywhere, was the state; and the acquisitions of power, territory, wealth, and internal prosperity were not blessings flowing to the people, but jewels added to the crown. Free thought, great studies in science, philosophy, and theology, if they generated atheism and visionary equality, also opened the gates of power to its true source, the people. Italy felt this universal influence, and the brain of that people, if less vivid, became sensitive to the wrongs of tyranny; as in France, the same cause brought anarchy. The gorgeous imagination of Dante, centuries earlier, had depicted the past miseries, and no less the coming glories, of his unhappy country; and, with a foresight illumined by a rich

fancy, he had seen the peril which, to attain national integrity, she would be forced to undergo. In the work of imagination, the inciting of a people to resistance, the appealing to their best passions, by song and eloquence, Italy has produced great masters ; but it has been reserved for the present age to elicit an efficacious intellectual aid, which should combine and systematize the hitherto inchoate elements of an Italian kingdom. The great mental activity of the past century has prepared the people to receive and to appreciate a new destiny ; it has awakened a sense of shame for past apathy ; it has kindled noble aspirations for an independent system ; it has exposed to their contempt the specious fallacies by which Popery has enthralled the intellect and the heart ; it has displayed for their emulation the examples of free nations. Thus prepared, Italy waited for a guiding mind ; and that mind appeared in Camillo di Cavour.

He is rightly called by Italians the Regenerator of Italy. To his intellect and his enthusiasm is to be traced the creation of a fabric, wonderful in its youthful maturity, stately in the proportion and symmetry of its design. What enhances the grandeur of his achievements is, that they were accomplished in spite of patriots. He saw that the separation of communities tended toward the worst results of anarchy, no less than that their consolidation must be effected by checking the natural impulses of the public mind. Few of his compatriots had the capacity to appreciate any other form of government than the one most opposite to that which had paralyzed Italy. The Southern imagination, more sanguine and irresistible than that of the French, looked even upon equality and fraternity as too moderate a stand-point. Almost alone, but nevertheless with all confidence, Cavour set about the greatest labor which can employ the human mind. Inspired no less by the examples which history displayed to him, than by the results of a practical contemplation of general politics, he was entirely satisfied as to the end which he should propose to himself, and the means he should employ to attain it. Sentiment in him was absorbed in one feeling, unalloyed patriotism. He did not reflect upon the glories of ancient Rome, upon the greatness of Florence, and Venice, and Naples, and Genoa, with the exu-

berant fancy of a poet, sorrowing for what was past and irrevocable, but with the eyes of a statesman, penetrating the causes of their rise and fall, and inspired by their fate to reinstate their power permanently and completely. To attain an end so noble, he deemed no sacrifice too great; and, in spite of the bigotry of his family, the danger to his title, his fortune, his life, and his fame, from his earliest manhood he gave himself up to the salvation of Italy.

The little volume before us contains a discourse, written and delivered by a personal friend and compatriot, on the life and character of this remarkable man. It presents, in language glowing with the enthusiasm of ardent friendship, a clear and highly interesting narrative, which impresses us with the accuracy of its details, and inspires us therefore with feelings kindred to those of its author. Professor Botta, from his literary position in the Sardinian Faculties and in the legislature of that kingdom, had peculiarly favorable opportunities for observing a career so marked and rapid as was that of Count Cavour; while his personal intercourse with him enabled him to form a just judgment of his mental capacity, his social qualities, and the opinions he entertained on all subjects. With a modesty somewhat rare among biographical friends, he has carefully excluded all mention of himself, and seems to have lost all consciousness of his own connection with the scenes he describes, in an absorbing contemplation of the master spirit who was their centre. We cannot but admire the fitness and elegance of the language employed, which is the more to be commended, as the author is a foreigner; for we know that, of all languages, ours is the most difficult to be completely mastered. Such a life as he depicts cannot fail to enlighten every mind; for it exhibits the rarest combination of excellences, untainted by any great fault, and continually made more resplendent by the constant exercise of virtue. In the endeavor to present to our readers a sketch of that life, we feel the difficulty of rendering an adequate tribute to the author of the great results which have flowed from its influence; but we hope, nevertheless, to convey a sufficient idea of its value to enkindle in every one who peruses

it veneration for his great intellect, love for his generosity, and esteem for his pure patriotism.

CAMILLO BENSO DI CAVOUR was born in the capital of that kingdom around which he afterward concentrated the states of Italy, on the 10th of August, 1810. He was descended from an ancient and noble family, who at different times had been renowned for gallantry in the field, and for eminence in literature. His family name was Benso; its title of nobility, Cavour; and his own Christian name, Camillo, was given him in honor of Camillo, Prince Borghese, provincial governor of Piedmont, the husband of the brilliant and beautiful Pauline Bonaparte. This princess, the favorite sister of the French Emperor, together with her consort, presided over the baptism of the young noble as sponsor. He was the second son of the Marquis Giuseppe Michele Benso di Cavour, by a Swiss lady, Adelaide Susanna Sellon; and, as is the custom of Italy, he took the title of Count, as the younger born. It was from his mother that he inherited the more prominent characteristics which afterward made his life illustrious; while the Piedmontese blood gave him the vivacity and warmth of soul peculiar to that people. His family had long been a proud and exclusive race, holding in contempt the lower classes, and devoted to aristocratic domination and popular oppression. Wealthy, of ancient title, and therefore of considerable influence among the nobles, his father, though by no means an ill-natured man, became an earnest advocate of ultra-oligarchical principles. This was an immense disadvantage to a youth whose earliest maturity of reason taught him to take an entirely opposite ground, and to espouse the cause of the oppressed classes. The prejudice which his father's bigotry had excited against the house descended in some measure to Camillo; and between the distrust of the government, who knew his liberal predilections, and the distrust of the people, who looked with suspicion upon a young aristocrat, he was at the entrance of life placed in a dilemma hard to be escaped from. But few opportunities for advancement were afforded to younger sons of nobles at that time, and the army was the prevailing choice among them; and young Cavour, though by no means possessing a taste for the military profession, seemed

compelled to enter it, and was accordingly placed at an early age at the Military Academy of Turin. After pursuing for a while with considerable success the dry details of mathematics and practical science, he had the good fortune to be appointed page to the Prince Charles Albert, heir to the crown of Sardinia ; less, as is supposed, from his rank, than because of his liberal principles. Such a position in the royal household is regarded in most monarchical countries as an almost certain avenue to high political trust ; and therefore it was no mean tribute to the young Count's spirit and ability, that he was thus promoted, at the early age of ten years, over the heads of many young nobles who were eager to attain the same position.

His impatience of subordination made a dependence on princely favor distasteful even at his age, and he was glad to return to his surveying and logarithms in the Academy. Here he remained, acquiring rapidly and easily the scientific elements of the profession, until his eighteenth year, when he graduated with high rank, and was appointed a Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. This position enabled him to reduce to practice the lore he had so studiously acquired, and he was commissioned to make explorations and plans for forts and other defences in the mountain ranges contiguous to the confines of Piedmont, and also near Genoa. Although such employment gave indulgence to his taste for exact science, his spirit was too restless to submit to the petty tyranny of military discipline ; and after enduring the humiliations of an inferior grade for a short time, he retired from the service, and turned his attention to his favorite study, — that of political philosophy. While in the prosecution of his professional duties, he had been arrested and confined in the fort of Bard, for the expression of liberal opinions. It must not be inferred from this that he had given utterance to fanatical theories, or that he held any sympathy with those visionary politicians who courted martyrdom for democratic enthusiasm. His tendency was indeed toward the amelioration of the political status of his countrymen, and the elevation of the lower classes to a participation in government. But he was so wise as to stop at the threshold of those doctrines whose result must have

been to produce anarchy. His politics, though liberal, were from the first practical and sensible, not conquered by imagination, nor repugnant to moderate reason. Nothing can more fully demonstrate the wretched despotism under which Piedmont was groaning at that time, thanks to the restoration of the Bourbons, than that such a man, temperate in opinion and in utterance, should have been imprisoned for differing from the autocrats who presided at the cabinet council. Any European government would suppress a wild and dangerous fanatic; few would say to the world that they feared a conservative reformer. For Mazzini, it would have perhaps been a just fate; in Cavour, the injustice of the sentence stimulated an ambition, the fruit of which was the achievement of Italian freedom.

The period at which he abandoned the restraints of an exclusive profession, and turned to the consideration of political science, was a remarkable one throughout Europe. In France, the last sovereign of the elder Bourbons had just been expelled from the throne and the soil of his fathers; a bloodless revolution had been succeeded by a peaceable settlement; and constitutional had superseded almost absolute monarchy. Philosophical and political discussion had become universal, and the public mind was thoroughly aroused to the contemplation of much-vexed questions. In England, the great period had arrived which should witness a peaceful but thorough renovation of the Constitution; liberal ideas took the place of prescription and precedent; and fairness of representation, denied for centuries by the bigotry or interest of the dominant faction, was now accorded by the happy alliance in its favor of sovereign and people. The principles of religious toleration, too, found an increasing support throughout the three kingdoms; and free trade became the watchword of a powerful and brilliant coterie, whose names appear as the founders of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Hungary and Poland manifested new symptoms of rising against their imperial oppressors, and the Czar seemed disposed to introduce a more generous policy into the government of Russia. Greece, released from the rude dominance of the Turk, had erected a liberal monarchy, and had chosen an enlightened and mod-

erate German prince to assume her crown, once the fairest treasure within the ambition of man. Belgium also, now a thriving and active little kingdom, was then just changing ducal for regal dignity, and was governed with wisdom by one of the ablest of modern princes. All Europe seemed to be awakening to a more vigorous life, and tending toward a new order of political systems. Ancient absolutists were losing their prescriptive authority, and yielding before novel and vital forces. In Italy alone the zeal for liberty appeared to be dormant, or at least hopelessly indulged. While Northern communities were awake to every opportunity which might brighten their prospects, the land of Dante and Machiavel seemed to have forgotten the inspired exhortations of those heroic sages, and to remain motiveless and passive under absolute power. Cavour met this sad fact at the threshold of his observations, but it did not produce in his vivacious and cheerful mind the least despair; on the contrary, it inspired him to a desperate attempt to master his subject, and then to use the experience thus acquired for the benefit of his country. It might have been expected that the intensity of his patriotic feeling would drive him into all the theories of equality and democracy which characterized most anti-imperialists of that day; but his mind, steady and practical amidst surrounding tumults, recoiled from ideas which had thus far availed so little, and harmed so much. The blood of Piedmont which ran through his veins, and which stimulated passion, was tempered by the blood of Switzerland, which balanced judgment against impetuosity, and deliberation against fire of spirit.

Already he saw himself the future minister of the kingdom of Italy, uniting under his administration all the states of the peninsula, and sitting at congresses on a proud equality with the Hapsburg tyrant. Undoubtedly ambitious to become eminent in political life, and especially eager to be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen as one of the founders of a new destiny, he yet disdained to employ the arts of the demagogue, and loathed secret conclaves for the sinister purpose of popular agitation. His course, as was to be expected, was frowned upon by his patrician father and his absolutist kins-

men; while the people, prejudiced against him as a scion of aristocracy, looked upon his youthful aspirations with much distrust. Amid such discouragements, opposed alike by those whom nature prompted to sustain him and by those whom gratitude should have attached to him, and apparently sacrificing the only opportunity which appeared open to him to achieve political success, this illustrious man obstinately adhered to a moderate, enlightened, and just view of facts and principles. He turned his particular attention to the study of political economy, and soon accepted the doctrines of Adam Smith and Lord Grey as those most in harmony with reason, justice, and especially with the policy of Italy. The results of his subsequent statesmanship demonstrate the wisdom of this course, and at the present hour Italy is making rapid strides in regaining that commercial ascendancy which formerly rendered Venice and Florence the marts most courted by all nations,—a result which may be aptly traced to the exertions of Count Cavour.

Charles Albert ascended the throne of Sardinia in 1832, and the Marchese di Cavour was by him appointed Vicario or Mayor of Turin,—an office of considerable trust, and the reward of loyal devotion to the absolute party. His official duties consisted especially in the superintendence of the police system, which in those days was used rather as a defence against the liberal opposition than in the more general functions usually assigned to it. The father was thus thoroughly identified with the enemies and persecutors of the son, and became the magistrate whose peculiar care it was to check any movement toward a change of government,—an object dear to Camillo. This was a formidable obstacle, but not so formidable as to modify his opinions, or to silence the proper expression of them. He could not, however, pursue his studies under such a censorship in his native city; and therefore he spent the year following the accession of Charles in overseeing the family estates, travelling in various provinces of Italy, and, wherever he went, impressing upon his mind for future use his observations of the state of society. As early as his twenty-third year his opinions and character made him an object of suspicion to the Austrian cabinet; and records

have since been brought to light in the form of official instructions, describing his person and character, and warning the agents of the imperial court to watch so dangerous an enemy to absolute power. In 1835, he was called to the sick-bed of his maternal aunt, the Duchess of Clermont-Tonnerre, at Geneva; and having approached so near the frontier of the Alps, he seized an occasion he had long desired to cross the mountains, and contemplate the recently purified systems of France and Great Britain. He regarded the new *régime* of the former kingdom with much less interest than the constitutional stability of the latter. He looked with especial favor upon the operation of that stately fabric, which apparently has the unanimous preference of reflecting liberals on the Continent. The distinctive vigor and independence of the Anglo-Saxon race, subordinated to order and respecting law, appeared to him to be stamped upon the character of the government, and the ease with which so ancient a constitution had yielded to the demands of a progressive age filled him with enthusiastic admiration. He did not confine his attention to the organization of the executive and legislature, the spirit of the laws, the systems of finance, war, and marine, and the practical action and retroaction of administration and citizen; he also penetrated beneath the external facts which make up the history of a nation, and studied earnestly the different grades of society, the effects of unequal rank, and the various prejudices, habits, and tendencies of all classes. He looked with an admiration almost tinged with envy on the wonderful equilibrium which could combine in one constitution elements seemingly so inharmonious as an oligarchy, a sovereign, a state church, and a representative estate. But he did not speak of English institutions with unqualified praise; for he unhesitatingly denounced that exclusive spirit, which has accumulated in the hands of a few proud families the greater part of British territory, and has denied to the farmer a fair competition in labor. He could not view with approval the aristocracy nor the political Church; he knew too much of their baneful influence at home to be converted in their favor abroad, although in England they presented a less repulsive aspect than in Italy. He regarded England, never-

theless, as the pioneer of European civilization ; whose mission it was to introduce reforms in politics and morals, and to exemplify them in her own policy. His visit to that country, therefore, was one of the greatest pleasure, as well as instruction to him.

Throughout his future life he seems to have profited by the experience derived from his English tour, in modifying his political course. Accepting the same abstract principles which underlie the British constitution, and rejecting aristocratic and prelatical influence, he built up a fabric in many respects similar, and in many we think superior, to that which he adopted as a model. He made the acquaintance and acquired the friendship of many prominent Englishmen of all parties ; and from the discussions which he heard, and in which he was a participant, he conceived a vivid idea of the principles with which he sought to be familiar. Every fact, every cause, every effect, was treasured up in that rare memory, as material for his life-work. His judgment perceived at once those circumstances and data which could be employed in guiding his future policy, and which were applicable to the character of his fellow-countrymen ; and his assiduity was the less laborious, inasmuch as he experienced the keenest pleasure in the occupation. His pursuit of knowledge was not devoted entirely to general theories ; but he descended carefully to the consideration of practical details, visiting the different departments in Downing Street, observing the operation of law, and attending day after day the Parliamentary sessions, not less to derive an idea of the legislative practice and customs of England, than to witness the conflicts of parties.

In such congenial studies he employed his time until 1842, when he returned to his native country. His wealth had given him leisure, and his rank opportunities, to select the mode of life to which his tastes directed him ; and his native mercurial temperament, combined with a hearty appreciation of social pleasures, strongly tempted him to turn from the path of usefulness, and to embark on that of a transitory happiness. Few men could have resisted the natural tendencies of the passions, when encouraged by such a position. But his soul

was fixed upon a great purpose ; and to that purpose the allurements of folly, and even of ease, promptly yielded. Youth, riches, rank, a warm and generous heart, and manners which irresistibly attracted, became, in the balance which should determine a wise or a miserable life, as nothing, when opposed to the instincts of a pure patriotism, the earnestness of a spirit inspired by honest piety, and an intellect capacious enough to grasp, and interested enough to attempt, the great problems which involve the rise and fall of nations. The flower of younger manhood thus spent was a certain presage of future eminence ; and it is with scarcely less admiration that we view this early devotion to the service of his country, than the more recent and world-renowned achievements of his intellect.

On his return to Italy, he commenced his public career by taking up the pen in the advocacy of the opinions of which he was now firmly persuaded. He wrote an admirable essay on the "State and Prospects of Ireland," a work for which he had fitted himself while in the British Isles, at which period the O'Connell agitation was at its height ; and his appreciation of his theme, and the accuracy with which he dealt with the material before him, elicited the praise of the most profound British minds. "Italian Railroads" also found a vigorous and earnest advocate in Cavour at this time ; and another Essay, "On the Influence of Commercial Reform in England on the Economical Condition of Italy," extended his reputation as a writer and an economist throughout Europe. A British reviewer of ability has aptly remarked, that these early fruits of Cavour's genius partake rather of the dispassionate and deliberate character of state papers, than of that of pamphlets written upon exciting political topics. Throughout their pages is discernible the operation of a calm and lucid mind, quick to arrive at conclusions warranted by safe premises, just in fixing the importance of facts, and entirely free from sympathies produced by partiality for either party. Their style is clear, unadorned by rhetorical digressions, strictly accurate in word and expression, and always aiming straight at the main idea.

He became an active participant in the deliberations of the "Società Agraria," a body of men who favored the introduction into Piedmont, not only of agricultural improvements,

but of all those resources which make a community energetic and prosperous. They formed a nucleus around which might be gathered the liberal sentiment of Italy, and did not confine their projects of reform to the narrow details of their incorporation. It was in communion with the members of this society that Cavour found a thorough sympathy with the principles which he had adopted, and also the eminent and earnest friends who afterwards assisted in his lofty labor of regenerating the government. Their organ, the *Gazetta dell' Associazione Agraria*, found in him a constant and zealous correspondent, whose contributions were directed to the universal amelioration of the condition of the people. He sustained with great vigor free trade, as the resuscitator of a dormant commerce ; the establishment of educational systems, as the purifiers of popular virtue ; the encouragement of science and art, as adornments indispensable to a civilized race ; the creation of benevolent associations, as alleviations of the sufferings of the lower classes ; industrial schemes, as life-giving elements in a society naturally prone to agriculture ; and, above all, the establishment of a popular legislature, as the guardian of national liberty. The influence of his mind, acting thus through the medium of the press, became gradually felt in the more enlightened circles of the metropolis ; and the ideas which he put forth, in so convincing and logical a form, began to insinuate themselves into the first intellects of Piedmont. Few had looked beyond local history and events for their political erudition ; and none probably possessed a just idea of the practical operation of liberal principles beyond the Alps. They were now fully enlightened by one of their own countrymen, in a form thoroughly comprehensible, and appealing at once to their understandings, by the clearness and simplicity with which he made every subject he approached appear to them. Such statesmen as Gioberti, Ricasoli, and Azeglio were struck with the benefits and practicability of the reforms which he sought to introduce ; and all who, while they rejected the revolutionary fantasies of Mazzini, yet yearned for a deliverance from the existing status, turned their attention to the doctrines now for the first time advocated, as remedies sufficient for the existing evils.

In addition to these efforts to set public sentiment in the right direction, Cavour continued to devote his attention earnestly to the study of political philosophy, while at the same time he indulged his tastes for agricultural pursuits. As liberal principles became more extensively adopted, he found that the *Gazétta* did not afford a sufficient opportunity to promulgate his views; and, in connection with other eminent Liberals, he instituted, in 1847, a political daily, called the *Risorgimento*. Happily the freedom of the press was so far allowed as to permit the accomplishment of the objects of this paper, whose mission was announced to be, "the independence of Italy, union between princes and people, progressive reform, and a confederation of the Italian States." Keeping clear of the dangerous theories which impelled Mazzini to seek revolution, and rejecting the policy of republicanism as entirely unsuited to the genius of Italy, he advocated mutual compromise between the sovereign and the subjects, by which the former should be secured in limited dominion, and the latter admitted to a participation in the government. Although he perceived that the Papal power was destructive of Italian independence, he did not declare war upon the hierarchy, but sought, while stripping the Pope of the ability to oppose the projected confederation, to leave in his hands a nominal sovereignty, and, if feasible, to place him in the van of the great reform movement. This policy, at once conservative and progressive, met with extreme opposition from two distinct quarters, the ultra absolutists and the ultra democrats. The partisans of the Empire and the Society of Jesus frowned upon a project which destroyed the essence, though it retained the semblance, of princely and ecclesiastical power. The followers of Mazzini rejected a proposal which should continue monarchical institutions and admit the aristocracy to a participation in the government. It was, therefore, to the intelligent middle class, — that class which has everywhere maintained order and rational liberty, — and to the liberal noblemen and philosophic statesmen of Italy, that Cavour looked for a hearty and efficient support of the views promulgated in the *Risorgimento*. Early in the year 1848, he took a step which identified him distinctly as a bold and earnest leader

of a thorough, though not a radical, reform. A deputation of Genoese citizens had arrived at Turin to petition the king in reference to the expulsion from that city of the Society of Jesus, and also to urge the remodelling of the militia; and the leading politicians of the metropolis, perceiving this to be a fit opportunity to strike a blow, met to consider the expediency of joining in the request of the Genoese. Cavour, bolder than the rest, and not deterred by the unpopularity he already labored under, ignoring all minor issues, moved at once to petition Charles Albert for a free press, and for a constitution. This proposition, though sustained by the conservative members of the meeting, failed through the opposition of Mazzini's partisans, and the public press refused to print it; in consequence of which Cavour informed the king himself of the motion he had made. Charles Albert, who had always been regarded as an absolutist, and whose relations with the Empire rendered it improbable that he would listen to reformers, yet was not devoid of that sagacity which profits by experience and yields when the choice is inevitable between yielding and falling. The example of Charles d'Artois was too recent to be forgotten; he knew his people too well to trust to their calmness and clemency; and, like a wise king, he granted to them a constitution,—thus preserving his own crown, and paving the way for uniting, under his successor, the then inchoate elements of an Italian kingdom. It is not a little to be commended that the late king seized exactly the right time to concede a Parliament, and that he did not wait until public ferment would have made it difficult to trust his sincerity. This important movement took place soon after Cavour's motion in the Assembly of Editors, in response to a petition from the city of Turin.

Cavour was intrusted with the duty of framing an electoral bill, and under its operation he was elected by the citizens of his native city to the first Chamber of Representatives. Thus peacefully and without difficulty was the kingdom of Sardinia transformed from an absolute into a constitutional monarchy. The king retained a just exercise of executive power; the educated and landed classes were admitted to a direct influence through a freely elected legislature; the influence of

Austria was counteracted, and the example of England adopted; and instead of a rigid political police, a fettered press, and an exclusive domination of absolutist princes, the best intellects of Piedmont were called to the administration and the forum.

The general convulsion of 1848, which restored France to the Corsican line, and which roused Hungary, Poland, and Milan to a desperate but unsuccessful outbreak, generated in the intelligent statesman of Piedmont a hope, not entirely free from misgiving. Southern Europe, before impervious to the commotions which had convulsed more northern regions, felt at last a shock which, but for the unprepared state of the people, might have resulted in complete disenthralment. The provinces of Milan and Lombardy rose in armed resistance to the Emperor of Austria; Rome and Florence became agitated by the wild frenzy of visionary democrats. A revolution, terrible in its activity and momentous in its results, appeared inevitable. Cavour and his colleagues seized the occasion to urge a union of states against the triple tyranny. They entreated the Sardinian king, whose caution and hereditary prejudices were well balanced against his ambition, to place himself at the head of the great movement about to be made. Troops were enlisted, and sent to the banks of the Ticino. At last Charles Albert proclaimed himself for Italian independence, and the forces of Sardinia fought side by side with the Milanese and the Lombards against the standard of the double eagle. Cavour himself would have gone as a volunteer private, but for the armistice at Milan. But neither was Sardinia sufficiently strengthened, nor the people sufficiently of one purpose, to succeed against the deliberate schemes and organized movements of the Austrian government. The fatal excesses of the Mazzini faction produced distraction of public sentiment, want of cordiality and unity in the pursuit of a common end, and useless but violent hatred against those who, like Cavour, retained in the midst of revolution an earnest regard for law and order. Rome was restored, under the auspices of a French armament, to the dominion of the Catholic Pontiff. Venice, abandoned by her provincial government, and in spite of a glorious effort for

liberty, became irretrievably subject to the dictation of the Austrian tyrant. The Duchies were forced once more to receive their hereditary sovereigns, who had been constrained to flee before the storm which endangered their lives as well as their dynasties. The battle of Novara, by breaking the vitality of Sardinian aid, extinguished the last hope of wretched Italy; and Charles Albert, whose noble determination had made him worthy of a better fate, passed beneath the proud standard of the Hapsburgs, an exile from the throne and from Italy.

In the midst of commotions like these, the first independent Parliament of Sardinia met at Turin; and Cesare Balbo, a liberal of great ability, but whose administration was not prompt in prosecuting the war, became Premier. Cavour became at once, in accordance with the expectations of all, an active and leading member. So democratical, however, were the tendencies of the assembly, that his conservative views made him an object of frequent and bitter attack. He took a position which, though to persons looking upon historical events with an impartial eye it seems a most honorable one, made him extremely unpopular when considered in the midst of exciting events, and by a bigoted party spirit. The administration had been formed on a radical basis; but soon, governed by that consciousness of responsibility which always attends the acquisition of power, the enlightened Premier advocated the intervention of Sardinia in the war then in progress, and the restoration of the dethroned princes, under pledges guaranteeing free constitutions to their people. These measures Cavour, though originally opposed to the ministry, heartily approved. The hopes, however, of the statesmen who advocated this policy, were sorely disappointed when the princes refused the concessions which were expected of them, and when the Pope became, on his restoration to the triple crown, the steadfast ally of the Emperor in oppressing Italy.

Charles Albert could not hope longer to wield the destinies of his little kingdom; and he abdicated the throne. His heir came to his royal inheritance, as may well be imagined, under peculiar temptations, and surrounded by events calculated sternly to test the quality of a young and fervid ambition. Before him were a distracted and disunited people, not yet

recovered from the ignominy of hopeless defeats, utterly powerless and prostrate before a great nation, without strength to oppose any longer the tyranny which had before incited them to resistance. By acquiescence in oppression, Victor Emmanuel might look forward to a long, secure, and peaceful reign ; and, subject to the dominant power, he had a certain prospect of uninterrupted dominion. His youthful prejudices had been formed by absolutist courtiers, and a selfish interest in the comfort of his own house would have led him to bow cheerfully before the haughty crown which sought to make him a submissive vassal. It was natural, therefore, that the statesmen of Piedmont should look with distrust upon the accession of so young and so ambitious a prince. Their fears were gloriously disappointed, before the crown of Savoy had touched the brow of the new sovereign. On the very night when his father, dethroned and exiled, passed from the presence of his dejected generals, Victor Emmanuel brandished his sword toward the imperial camp, and devoted himself, by a solemn vow which has been nobly kept, to the regeneration of Italy. From that moment distrust vanished, and hope inspired every patriot heart. In the new king, the courage and enthusiasm of youth were combined with a discernment of the right cause which would have graced the wisdom of age. His choice of a first minister indicated a conservative, and yet a generous policy. Massimo d' Azeglio, a brilliant votary alike of æsthetics, of politics, and the military art, was intrusted with the government, and was joined by many of the ablest minds of Piedmont. Graceful in the use of the pencil, glowing as the delineator of historical events, and enchanting in the presentation of fictitious scenes and characters, Azeglio could yet turn from these elegant and peaceful avocations to guide with consummate skill a disordered state through peculiar dangers. The perils external were not exceeded by the perils internal ; and the new Premier found that the greatest enemy to the government was concealed in the dark streets of its own cities. His fear of the revolutionists made him distrustful of all innovation, and he inclined rather to consolidate and preserve what had already been acquired, than to widen the margin of national vigor by progressing in the

paths of reform pointed out by more sanguine statesmen. He therefore devoted himself with ardor to settling the existing disorders, and to securing the crown to his young sovereign. Count Cavour had heartily approved the nomination of Azeglio to the chief direction of affairs, and had with a disinterestedness rarely seen, but which was characteristic of his whole life, sustained the more important measures which that statesman had proposed to the legislature. But his energetic spirit, revolting though it did from the anarchical precepts of Mazzini, could not more patiently acquiesce in the caution which kept in abeyance the resources of the country. More bold and practical than the Premier, he earnestly urged the prosecution of reforms of all kinds, commercial, agricultural, educational, and political. He would anticipate the bright prospects with which Mazzini sought to dazzle the people, and separate the good from the evil of the democratic creed. The quickness with which he discerned the propriety, and even necessity, of improvement in various directions, contrasted successfully with the poetic fervor with which the imaginative Minister clung to the old paths. The timid and impractical mind of the latter, while he admitted the reasonableness of Cavour's theories, shrank from the bold course which alone could give them efficacy. The main obstacle to complete national disenthralment was the exorbitant influence of the Papacy in Italian politics. This evil Azeglio sought to eradicate by the cautious mode of expostulation, and by attempting to convince those to whom conviction would have been entire loss of power. Such a mode was ill adapted to persuade cardinals to yield an authority resting on precedent to the exigencies of a modern civilization. Cavour, with accurate judgment, saw the futility of paper attacks, and urged a ruder—as the only practicable—method of removing this mighty incubus. Sicardi, an eminently sensible statesman, was, through his influence, brought into the Cabinet, and proposed at once to act upon the sources whence the hierarchy derived its dictatorial authority. The ecclesiastical courts were, at his suggestion, abolished; the clergy were deprived of invidious immunities; the tenure by mortmain of religious corporations was restrained and regulated; and every undue privilege was cut off.

Thus, in spite of the violent opposition which everywhere demonstrated the yet formidable vigor of the Church, the state was relieved of the great obstacle to the entire independence of the government. Cavour was now admitted to the Executive Council, by being appointed Minister of Commerce and Agriculture,—an office for which he was peculiarly fitted, not less by his remarkably practical turn of mind, than by his taste for, and long attention to, these branches of public enterprise. His long-cherished ideas in favor of free trade were now brought forward and put into practice; and his treaties with the various European powers, while from some quarters they brought denunciation upon him, even to personal collision, nevertheless were approved by his constituents, and became the settled maritime policy of Piedmont. He was soon after appointed Minister of Marine in addition to his other offices, and now took the opportunity, long wished for, to transfer the naval arsenal to Spezzia, and to improve the port of Genoa, so that it might become, as its position and natural advantages indicated that it should be, the centre of Northern Italian commerce. A change of ministry, which proved only temporary, led to the retirement of Count Cavour from public office, and he devoted this interval of relief from arduous toil to visiting England and France, and renewing, for a brief period, his friendly intercourse with the public men of those countries. While in England, he inspected the most abandoned and riotous quarters of London, under the care of a policeman, looking upon these scenes of degradation with the practical eye of a philosophical economist. On his return, he found Azeglio on the point of resigning in consequence of disagreements with the Papal emissaries. Cavour was intrusted with the seals, but failed to reconcile the contending claims of the Pope and the King, and so resigned. He was the only man, however, who was equal to the emergency, and he was soon recalled, at the urgent solicitation of Victor Emmanuel, promising a condition that the demands of the Papacy should be resisted at all hazards. He now assumed the direction of the administration for the first time, as President of the Council and Minister of Finance.

He had now reached the height of power, and his execution of the trust reposed in him fully justified his self-confidence. From this time until his decease, he held, with little interruption, the helm of state. His extensive improvements in commercial regulation, the impetus he imparted to agricultural enterprise, the encouragement he gave to scientific and artistic endeavor, his zealous efforts to connect the great cities of his country by rail and telegraph, his straightforward and yet guarded transactions with foreign courts, the minute attention he bestowed upon the improvement of the lower classes, the vigor with which he opposed Papal aggression, the interest he manifested in the military department, and the facility with which he reconciled antagonistic elements in the legislature, entitle him to the homage of mankind for the greatness and virtue of his statesmanship. The Crimean war, which began in 1854, afforded an opportunity to display masterly skill in directing the course of Sardinia; Cavour went beyond the expectations of his countrymen in the success with which he emerged from this important crisis. Looking far into the future for the results of the step he was about to take, he at once recommended an alliance with the coalition, and, in the midst of furious but unavailing opposition, he persuaded the Chamber to send 25,000 men as the quota of Sardinia in the combined army. His ambition for his country discerned the time when Italy would compete with the Porte, France, and England for the supremacy of the inland seas; and he resolved that his influence, and that of Piedmont, should be thrown into the scale which should exclude Russia from the competition. The wisdom of this policy, hazardous and foolhardy as it at first seemed, was afterwards recognized on all hands. The Sardinian troops behaved in a manner which elicited the applause alike of their confederates and their opponents; and thence is to be traced that martial spirit which has since shown itself in successful resistance to dangers threatening their immediate existence. To the Peace Congress which assembled in Paris at the conclusion of hostilities, to adjust the mutual relations of the great powers, Cavour, after a strenuous opposition from the Austrian delegates, was admitted as the representative of the court of Sar-

dinia ; and he embraced so favorable an opportunity of laying before the assembled statesmen the necessities, the distresses, and the hopes of his native country. He urged them to co-operate with the Piedmontese government in checking Austrian and Papal domination over Italian territory, and proposed that all the powers should unite in a scheme to relieve the burden pressing upon that injured people. Although remonstrances so reasonable, and advocated by so masterly a skill, did not produce the conviction sanguinely hoped for, they directed attention more particularly to the existing evils, and prepared the way for the mature sympathy which attended the more recent struggles of the Italians for constitutional liberty.

The imperial court, alarmed and exasperated at the favor with which the envoys of Piedmont had been received at the Peace Conference, now manifested a disposition to quarrel with the rising kingdom, and, if possible, to find an excuse for displaying Austrian bayonets beyond the Ticino. Diplomatic recrimination having failed to subdue the spirit of Victor Emmanuel, the Austrian envoy at his court was recalled, which elicited a similar movement on his part. Cavour now saw that a terrible crisis was imminent, and involved in that crisis were all the great interests of his country. Sardinia was not yet completely restored from the exhaustion which the former disturbances had produced, and the Premier discerned the futility of an attempt on her part to cope alone with the fresh and well-disciplined multitudes of Austrian soldiery. To England he would naturally have looked for sympathy and co-operation in a distressing exigency ; but a misunderstanding, arising out of a difference between the English and Sardinian envoys with regard to the Danubian provinces, made a demand in that quarter inexpedient.

He therefore made proposals to the Emperor Napoleon ; who not only listened with favor to his schemes for the regeneration of Italy, but entered into an alliance with Sardinia, — an event which was confirmed by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, the heir presumptive of France, with the crown princess of Piedmont. Cavour, rejoiced to convey to his countrymen such welcome news, now set earnestly about putting the army

and the fortifications on an efficient basis, and worked night and day in preparing to resist every aggressive act of the enemy. At times he doubted whether Austria could thus rashly call down upon her conduct the reprehension of the civilized world; but he was soon convinced of her intentions, by the ultimatum of the Austrian ambassador, and his retirement in April. At Cavour's recommendation, dictatorial power was conferred *pro tempore* upon the king, the ultimatum was rejected, and almost immediately the Austrian forces advanced within Italian territory. After some difficulty, a junction was effected by land and water between the allied forces; and the world knows the result, — the decisive victories, culminating on the field of Solferino.

Cavour now saw almost consummated the great end of his existence, — the enfranchisement of all Italy, and the union of the states into a vast confederacy. Austria was driven effectually from every province except Venetia; and soon, thanks to the generosity of the French Emperor and the valor of the French troops, that fair district would also, without doubt, participate in the freedom of her sister states. When, therefore, the news came to the excited Minister, that the two imperial generals had met at Villafranca, and, after a short conference, had concluded a treaty, under which Venetia continued under Austrian domination, he was thoroughly prostrated by the suddenness and magnitude of the blow. Impelled by bitter disappointment, which wellnigh drove him at first to despair, he threw up the seals, quarrelled with the king, and retired to the family manor at Leri. There he diverted his mind from the topics which had previously absorbed his existence, but which now distressed him, by genial intercourse with the rural dignitaries who lived near him, by the pleasant recreations of agriculture, and by resorting for mental repose to the prolific storehouse of literature. Among those with whom he associated he was frank, unaffected, and genial; and his manners, while they never lost that dignity which gentle birth and political importance alike sustained, were yet such as to win the confidence and esteem of all who approached him.

The love of the people of Italy followed him to his peaceful

retreat in the country ; their sympathy accorded with their reason in a thorough reliance upon his judgment and his patriotism. Vain were the attempts to form a government which did not recognize Cavour as its leading spirit. His return to the national counsels was indispensable to peace at home and safety abroad. The king sent for him, and they became friends again, never after to be separated ; and once more every citizen felt secure under the guidance of his good right hand.

We need not refer to the circumstances which compelled his acquiescence in the treaty of Villafranca ; they are a part of the history of the day, and all of our readers are doubtless familiar with them. The question of the surrender of Savoy and Nice also, a measure which more than any other of his administration has diminished the popularity of Cavour, is one which has been so often and so fully discussed, that it need not be reverted to here. It would seem that the two considerations, that it was absolutely necessary to prevent French interference with political projects of the greatest magnitude, and that the question of separation was referred to the people of the provinces before the cession took place, are adequate reasons for his policy in that transaction.

Cavour's brief retirement had invigorated his frame, and restored him fresh and cheerful to the momentous labors which now devolved upon him. He proceeded at once to take measures for strengthening and consolidating the confederation which had been effected by the late war. In the mean time a new source of anxiety to his government arose, from the revolutionary and heroic achievements of Garibaldi. That chieftain, burning with a fervent and inconsiderate patriotism, with a rapidity marvellous, and to Cavour alarming, drove the petty tyrants of Sicily from their province, and the Neapolitan monarch from his throne ; set up a provisional government in the metropolis ; and prepared to advance, with a rude but brave army, upon the Papal possessions. Cavour saw nothing but ruin to the Italian cause in so precipitate a conquest. He well knew that a victory would be fruitless which would certainly be condemned by all the great powers, and that defeat would restore the infamous Francis to the throne of Naples.

He avoided either alternative by marching a Sardinian army to form a junction with Garibaldi, displacing the martial government which had been erected at Naples, and relieving Garibaldi of the command in chief. Thus with admirable tact he averted both collision with the French government, and a ruinous preponderance of the revolutionary faction in Southern Italy. The gallant hero, who had been so marvelously successful in the field, had unhappily fallen under the malign influence of Mazzini's followers, and was withal sorely disappointed at the sudden termination of his brilliant progress. He from that moment conceived a morbid dislike to the Prime Minister, which not a little injured the harmonious organization of the Italian kingdom. Having become the representative of a democratic constituency, he was so unwise as to attack with unpardonable virulence the statesman who, above all men, civilians or soldiers, had brought Italy to its present proud position. Cavour, with a condescension which elicited universal applause, showed himself quick to forgive the impetuous expressions of one who had displayed so warm a patriotism; and a reconciliation — unfortunately a reconciliation but in name — took place, shortly before Cavour's death, between the two greatest Italians of the present century.

The Minister meanwhile was attentively absorbed in the provisional governments of the several states, and in furthering defences and improvements throughout Italy. With a skill unsurpassed in the history of ancient or modern statesmanship, he fused the discordant institutions and prejudices of Piedmont and Naples, Genoa and Lombardy, Venice and Sicily, into a harmonious and well-balanced system. The space allowed us will not permit a survey of the various alterations he introduced into the Constitution: this belongs peculiarly to the province of the future historian of Italy. Suffice it to say, that the system erected mainly by his efforts commands the approbation of the most enlightened statesmen and economists of the civilized world, and that its beneficial fruits are already appearing in a rapidly growing commerce, an enthusiastic national spirit, and the increasing interest manifested in all the institutions of religion, learning, and benevolence.

In the midst of such glorious labors, Count Cavour was marked by the destroyer, and, while his country more than ever needed his stately intellect, he was about to pass to other worlds. On the 30th of May, 1861, he had a chill, and he himself prescribed bleeding. The next day, he gave audience to a deputy who had just returned from Naples; and so exciting was the discussion during that interview, that he became rapidly worse; and so continued till June 4th, when the conviction sadly forced itself upon his physicians, that further attempts to check the fever would be futile. He had been excommunicated from the Church by the bulls of Pius; nevertheless, Frà Giacomo, a near personal friend, consented to administer to his dying patron the holy sacrament. That scene must have been deeply impressive. Below in the street were a multitude of hushed and mourning citizens, assembled at the last solemn rite in which their great friend was to participate. As the holy father ascended the broad portico which led to the palace, attended by the sacred paraphernalia of the Church, the grief of the populace became evident in uncontrollable sobs and moans. Within the ample edifice lay the dying statesman, surrounded by the relatives and friends he loved so well, his intellect clear and calm, his whole mind intent upon the ceremony of which he was about to be the central figure. After the sacrament had been administered, he enjoyed a few hours of peaceful rest; and in the evening the king came to that final parting which was to bereave him of a strong and trusty pilot. The interview was pathetic beyond description. The distinction between king and subject was lost in the love between man and man. On the 6th of June, Camillo di Cavour ceased to live, passing gently away, his departure hardly perceptible to those who watched his every breath. The public grief was profound and universal. All business and pleasure were abandoned out of respect to the memory of the great deceased. It was as if the chill spirit of Death brooded over every household,—as if in his death each family had lost a common parent.

Well might city and country be hushed in gloom; well might the beautiful land be shrouded in universal sorrow. In him they had lost one who was to them as Washington was

to us ; and he had been taken, not as Washington was taken, in the evening of his life, and under the security of a completed structure, but while many years seemed still in store for him, and in the midst of a work in which order had yet hardly emerged from the chaos of revolution. Happily for them, another statesman was found who, though he could not fill the place made vacant by the great calamity, has nevertheless exhibited an ability and judgment equal to the demands of his position.

While a contemplation of Count Cavour's public career must elicit the highest respect for his genius and virtue, the record of his private excellence calls forth our love. Although he never entered into the noblest and wisest of domestic relations, he was yet renowned for love of social intercourse, for the vivacity and wit of his conversation, and for a benevolence which never slumbered. Throughout a life of almost uninterrupted toil, his temper remained sweet and forgiving, his manner retained its original elegance and kindliness, and his heart continued to beat in cordial sympathy with those to whom he was attached in friendship. Political life did not contract his mind, as it is very apt to do, to a mere capacity for fulfilling its requirements. He possessed and cultivated a rare taste for art and science, took a lively interest in the pursuits of gardening and farming, and enjoyed with genuine zest the relief which a refined and brilliant social circle gave from the weary hours of official labor. Such a character is seldom found in the annals of statesmanship and patriotism,—which too often teem with the evidences of selfishness, cruelty, and corruption. As an illustrious representative of the great principles of free government, we of America willingly place his name in envied proximity to that of our own beloved Washington. When the present exists only in history, and a future empire, extending from the Alps to the Sicilies, shall recognize but one sovereign through all its classic territory, the name of Cavour will be enshrined alone in the innermost Italian heart, and will be an inspiration to the noblest deeds.